20c • NOVEMBER 8, 1954

The Super-Bomb's Real Power

New Republic

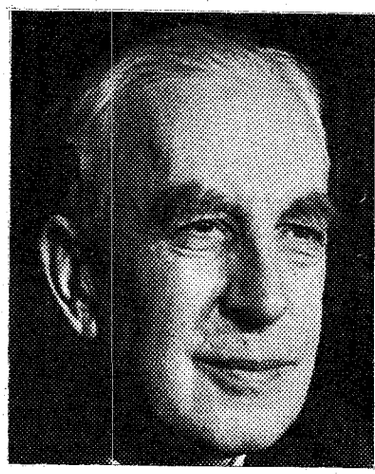
Defending Western Europe

OPTIMISTIC REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, PARIS AND LONDON ON PROGRESS TOWARD UNION

Eisenhower Prosperity . . . . . *An Editorial*

After the Elections . . . . . *Gerald W. Johnson*

The Young Artist in Britain . . . . . *Peter Crowcroft*



Lewis Mumford on

TOYNBEE

The Historical Contributions of the Napoleon of Notting Hill

BEREA, OHIO

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T. R. B.

★

Washington Wire

The Senate meets next Monday to start the McCarthy censure debate—and to re-fight the midterm election. McCarthy is going to be censured all right. But before this is done the election results will be hurled at each other by all factions in partisan interpretations. This year the postmortem may be livelier than the wake.

Toughest job of all in the next two years, we think, will be Eisenhower's, to try to hang on to his party. All last week we watched him and wondered. We saw him, thrilled and exhilarated in the applause at the Statler Hotel banquet of the Citizens for Eisenhower, where he rose, laughing, boyish and personable. An attractive figure there with Mamie, if we ever saw one!—waving to the crowd with his left arm, unable to hoist the right as a result of a touch of his old bursitis. We watched him at the press conference, the day before, where he reddened angrily at a question that came from a friendly reporter. He revealed the thin skin of an old soldier, as contrasted to the rhinoceros hide of the seasoned politician. He is still unadjusted to politics.

America has an extraordinary thing: a President who doesn't read newspapers. Ike is enormously likable and yet we come back to what, for us, is the Eisenhower Enigma. He seems to know only partly what is going on. This has been made evident, sometimes rather painfully, as the campaign developed. There was that incident where the unfortunate Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R, Ky.), a candidate for re-election, vainly cooled his heels in a White House anteroom trying to change Ike's mind on Dixon-Yates. The close circle around Ike wouldn't let Cooper through: he never got to Ike. Then there was that long nine weeks' so-called "work-play" vacation at Denver. We have talked to various reporters who were out there. They agree that Ike had a fine, re-invigorating time but that he was in no position to exercise the full responsibilities of his onerous office and in fact did not make too great an effort to pretend to.

Then there was the Eisenhower press conference last week. It was an odd experience. This reporter, at least, cannot look at Ike without feeling that he is a good and honorable man, animated by the liveliest patriotism. Ike was asked about a new program to recruit federal employees through the GOP National Committee. He was contradictory and on the defensive. To a query on Dixon-Yates he eagerly eulogized AEC Chairman Rear Admiral Strauss (the man, incidentally, probably most responsible for the security ouster of Robert Oppenheimer). He seemed to feel that he had settled all doubts by saying Strauss was the focal point in the deal. A minute later the President frankly revealed he was not running the election campaign. He seemed unfamiliar with it. He looked doubting and astonished when told something that has been front-page newspaper reading for weeks, that GOP strategy had switched back to the old Communists-in-Government issue. He had not read such speeches, he said; none of these people had come to him. His voice implied rebuke to the questioner, and next day he sent a warmly congratulatory message to Vice President Nixon, chief expounder of the thesis that the Democrats are winking at treason.

The President traveled to New York and spoke at the dinner honoring the late great Governor Al Smith. "No one dared call his program a wedge for socialism," Ike said. No one dared this, of course, but a chap named Herbert Hoover who was running against Smith in 1928. He branded the things Smith stood for as "state socialism" in a climactic address at Madison Square Garden. Smith angrily replied to Hoover at the Boston Arena four days later that opponents of nearly every reform in the century had cried "socialism!" Ike didn't know about this. It is queer to have a President whose ghost writers put such things in his mouth.

Yes, it is an odd situation. Does Ike find the role of party leader constitutionally repugnant? Is it indolence? Is there some other cause? You explain it, we can't.

Democratic control of the House will make Speaker Sam Rayburn (D, Tex.) the second most powerful man in Washington. At 72 he is calm, wise and humorous, a strong internationalist and a doughty liberal. This is his 40th year in Congress. He has great influence on his fellow Texan, Lyndon Johnson, Democratic leader in the Senate.

We have been looking and waiting for some representative legal organization to rise in support of Federal Judge Luther Youngdahl. US Attorney Leo Rover, with the Justice Department behind him, brought action against Judge Youngdahl that seemed like an attempt to intimidate the federal courts. Youngdahl incurred Rover's displeasure by throwing out the Justice Department's principal count against Owen Lattimore. Youngdahl was backed, 8 to 1, by the Court of Appeals. Then the Administration attacked the judge, a veteran of the Minnesota courts and a former Republican Governor. The conservative American Bar Association, which gets wrought up at the mere mention of "socialized medicine," hasn't uttered a peep over this subject on which it might be supposed to be far more sensitive. It recalls the failure of the Society of Newspaper Editors to do anything effective when McCarthy called *New York Post* editor James Wechsler before him and tried to bully him. "Freedom of the press" is something for abstract editorial panegyrics these days, like "freedom of the courts," but not for specific action. Fortunately Sen. Thomas Hennings (D, Mo.) proposes a Senate inquiry which might air the whole matter.

On the foreign front tall, grave, 78-year-old Adenauer has come and gone making it clear that he looks before long to another effort at Western agreement with Russia. And Mendès-France, the man who wore horns only yesterday, will be hailed warmly on his Washington visit.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Real Power of the Super-Bomb

ON MARCH 1, 1954, the US exploded a super-bomb at Bikini atoll in the Pacific. The test had some unexpected results. Nearly 300 persons, including 236 Marshall Islanders, received large doses of radiation. Some 130 tons of radioactive fish turned up in Japan. Radioactive rain fell in many places. The thyroids of sheep and cattle slaughtered in the US three months after the explosion were found to contain unusual amounts of radioactive iodine; some of these animals had been grazing along the Atlantic coast.

The general public might never have become more than mildly interested in these after-effects of the Bikini test had not the element of drama been inserted by the presence of a small Japanese fishing boat some 72 miles off Bikini and well outside the announced danger area. Three hours after the explosion, the *Lucky Dragon Maru* was coated by a "fall-out" of chalk-white dust. By the time they reached Japan on March 14, most of the 23 crew members were suffering from burns, fever or swelling. One of the 23 is now dead; some of the others have survived only because of remarkable medical efforts. Popular reaction in Japan and elsewhere, to the story of the *Lucky Dragon* forced the US Government to make a public statement about the Bikini test. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, made the official explanation on March 31. We tested on March 1 an H-bomb which turned out to be twice as powerful as expected (15 megatons = 15 million tons of TNT = 600 World War II A-bombs). Such a bomb could destroy, by heat and blast, "any city." But, said Strauss, reports on the range of dangerous radioactivity were exaggerated; the *Lucky Dragon* must have been "well within" the forbidden area, and its crewmen obviously had been burned by a chemical fall-out, not poisoned by a radioactive one. This has remained the official American attitude, although every fact so far uncovered shows it to be a willful minimization of a new danger which must eventually condition all thinking about both use of and defense against the super-bomb.

The *Lucky Dragon*, 72 miles from the bomb-blast, was hit by a radioactive fall-out—that has been definitely established. And it has also been established that such a fall-out will result whenever the super-bomb is used. What we have, in effect, is a two-stage weapon which destroys, by heat and blast, buildings and installations within a radius of 14 miles, then functions, through radioactive fall-out, as an anti-personnel weapon with a serious-to-lethal range of up to 4,000 square miles—the distance prevailing stratospheric winds will carry and spread radioactive particles before their rate of radiation falls below the lethal level.

The estimate given above is drawn from an article written for the current issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* by Dr. Ralph E. Lapp—a man who has always been determinedly conservative in estimating the destructive effect of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Dr. Lapp is not trying to frighten anyone. Approaching the theory of radioactive fall-out with some skepticism, he was soon convinced of its validity and began to explore the physical laws governing the phenomenon. His explanation runs like this: when the super-bomb explodes, there is a flash of penetrating radiation; if the explosion is at or near ground level, a great quantity of matter (earth, asphalt, bricks, glass, etc.) is volatilized, sucked up into the cloud and impregnated with radioactivity; in about 12 minutes, the cloud mushrooms to a height of 10 miles where the characteristic 40 to 60 miles-per-hour stratosphere winds distort it in a downwind direction; heavier-than-air, the particles of debris begin to "fall-out"; 50 percent of the radioactive dust comes down during the first 24 hours, with maximum activity during the first three hours. Estimation of the area which will be covered by serious-to-lethal fall-out is tentative, depending upon size and construction of the bomb, height of burst, the kind of material sucked up and weather conditions. Assuming a 15-megaton bomb, Dr. Lapp arrives at the conservative estimate that a downwind elliptical area of 4,000 square miles would be affected within six hours. Since radioactivity decreases with time, persons in this area would be in danger of receiving a serious-to-lethal dose only during the first day.

One implication of Dr. Lapp's estimate is that our Civil Defense program, which had to be switched from a "duck and cover" policy to one of pre-attack evacuation of cities when the blast-and-fire range of the new bombs was revealed, must again be revamped. Evacuation is still the only defense against the fireball of the bomb. And persons evacuated 15 to 20 miles upwind will be safe; but for those evacuated downwind there must be adequate shelters to protect them from fall-out for at least one day. And who can tell which way the wind will blow on any given day? The Civil Defense Program, then, is faced with another major challenge. Washington, of course, cannot provide final answers to these new problems; they have to be solved locally. But nothing effective can be done locally unless Washington makes available technical support, funds and, most important,

Next Week

What the Vote Means

- detailed reports from New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, Colorado, California, Oregon, Wisconsin and New England.
- articles by Wilfred Binkley, James MacGregor Burns on the effects of the elections on Eisenhower and his program.

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solid planning data. The peril from radioactivity is tremendous, and the American people need to be given a realistic picture of what they are up against instead of being left to labor and fear in the dark.

Other implications of Dr. Lapp's work are even more important. Radioactive fall-out in effect increases the effective range of the H-bombs in Russia's arsenal tenfold. The armaments race has then reached a point not expected until the end of this decade. "Fifty super-bombs," says Dr. Lapp, "could blanket the entire Northeast USA in a serious-to-lethal radioactive fog"—an area extending from Chicago and Detroit to New York and Philadelphia, containing most of our industrial plants and skilled workers as well as a big percentage of our total population. So the US, at this moment, is highly vulnerable in the sense that Britain found herself to be vulnerable when Russia developed her own super-weapons. The effect upon British policy was immediate—every effort was and is aimed at preventing an atomic war. What will be the effect of vulnerability on US policy? Is talk of "massive retaliation" permissible any longer, even as a bluff? Has development of super-weapons already reached the point where their ultimate use is improbable unless a fascination with economizing leaves us so lacking in non-atomic military strength that we would be forced to counter any kind of attack in just one way, by initiating atomic warfare? And must not all of our ingenuity and that of our allies be applied without rest and regardless of setbacks and disappointments to the task of fashioning a formula for atomic disarmament?

In the meantime, Dr. Lapp's revelation of the true nature of the super-bombs clearly indicates that along with a population enlightened as to what it may be called on to endure and do, we should have the most effective system of continental defense conceivable, one capable of coping with the threat of inter-continental guided-missiles carrying hydrogen bombs. When assured against the demonstrated power of the new bomb and what is known of guided-missile development, a defense based primarily upon the deterrent effect of a poised, atomic counter-punch no longer is sufficient.

Objective Advice

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S Secretary of Labor James Mitchell has been repeatedly criticized by union leaders for allowing Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks to make labor policy for the Administration. Lately Mitchell has been asserting himself a bit more in the running competition between the two. Now Mitchell indicates he has learned the secret of at least one source of Weeks' strength and plans to make it his own.

The Secretary of Commerce, like his predecessors for 30 years, regularly consults a Business Advisory Council, made up of top executives from 200 leading corporations. The Secretary of Labor, in an off-the-record talk to Weeks' Business Council on October 24, told the group that he felt the Labor Department should have "an advisory body similar to the BAC to keep the Secretary of Labor abreast of business and labor developments." After the election, Mitchell said, he will appoint business advisers "with an objective approach to problems" to advise him.

Secretary Mitchell went on to say that he would not create "a labor-management council since such organizations tend to attract spokesmen for special interests and cannot furnish objective judgments on problems of industrial relations."

Aid for Japan

THE TRADE-CONSCIOUS Japanese have lately shown signs of looking with some favor upon the shrewd offers put out by Communist China. So the Administration has come up with a "modest"—and belated—plan to do something about Japan's critical economic situation—she owes various nations $313 million for an excess of imports over exports last year, and since then she has improved her position only at the cost of a severe "austerity" program at home. Most of the trouble resulted from the loss of Chinese mainland and Southeast Asian markets, then was aggravated by the decline in US spending at the end of the Korean War.

Japan now will get a Foreign Operations Administration "offshore" contract to produce 25 locomotives for India, US sponsorship for admission to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), possibly some US Export-Import Bank loans for raw-material purchases, and US backing loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The dominant feature in the plan, however, is a grant under the agricultural surplus disposal program passed by Congress last session. Japan has asked for $130 million worth of surplus farm products, to be payed for in yen which will be turned back to her for use in economic development programs. But even this "modest" program is under attack within the Administration. Devotees of the balanced budget are urging Eisenhower to cut substantially the figure of $130 million in the interest of bookkeeping.

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How Will They Vote on McCarthy?

ON NOVEMBER 8, the Senate will meet to vote on the report of its 6-man Select Committee recommending censure of Sen. Joe McCarthy. McCarthy predicts the vote will go against him. About one-third of the Senators have given some indication of how they will line up:

On an August 2 roll call on a motion to send the censure resolution to committee, 12 Senators were opposed, expressing themselves as willing to vote on the issue without further delay. Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) explained they feared the action meant "indefinite postponement." The 12:

Hill (D, Ala.)
Fulbright (D, Ark.)
Douglas (D, Ill.)
Humphrey (D, Minn.)
Hennings (D, Mo.)
Chavez (D, N.M.)
Lehman (D, N.Y.)
Monroney (D, Okla.)
Magnuson (D, Wash.)
Cooper (R, Ky.)
Duff (R, Pa.)
Flanders (R, Vt.)

Members of the censure Committee, who presumably endorse the report and its recommendations:

Watkins (R, Utah)
Carlson (R, Kan.)
Case (R, S.D.)
Johnson (D, Colo.)
Ervin (D, N.C.)
Stennis (D, Miss.)

Three Senators said they will vote for censure:

Robertson (D, Va.)
Smathers (D, Fla.)
Burke (D, Ohio)

Seven Senators, other than Committee members, have commended the report, and are apparently inclined, but not committed, to vote for censure:

Green (D, R.I.)
Hill (D, Ala.)
Jackson (D, Wash.)
Pastore (D, R.I.)
Lehman (D, N.Y.)
Morse (I, Ore.)
Flanders (R, Vt.)

Six have praised the work of the Committee and its membership, but have not said how they will vote:

Monroney (D, Okla.)
McClellan (D, Ark.)
Holland (D, Fla.)
Murray (D, Mont.)
Chavez (D, N.M.)
Young (R, N.D.)

Three Senators, all Republicans, said they would vote against censure:

Capehart (Ind.)
Welker (Idaho)
Dirksen (Ill.)

Three Senators, all Republicans, denounced the report and are apparently inclined, but not committed, to vote against censure:

Crippa (Wyo.)
Jenner (Ind.)
Barrett (Wyo.)

Monopoly Probes

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has made up his mind about the Dixon-Yates contract. He says it "perfectly and splendidly protects" the interests of the American people, and he is determined to have it. Present Administration plans are to circumvent the law by having the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy waive the 30-day examination period stipulated for this kind of contract. Even if he succeeds in this maneuver, however, Democratic control of the Senate and House, or even of the House alone, will certainly result in a reinvestigation.

Evidence contradicting Eisenhower's estimate of the contract is already fairly close to overwhelming, yet more comes in all the time. Most recently it was learned that only two of the five Atomic Energy Commissioners had okayed the document when it came before them earlier this month. The President had given the press to understand that at least a majority of the Commission had found it good.

Gordon Clapp, former TVA chairman, and Leland Olds, former Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, both attacked the contract last week as the first step in a drive to destroy the "yardstick" provided by TVA power prices. At present private utilities cannot push prices up too high without running into a comparison of their charges and those of TVA, which shows a regular profit. But if they can force TVA, through the Republican Administration, to buy high-cost power from them, TVA prices will have to go up too.

Clapp was testifying before Sen. William Langer's (R, N.D.) Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee which has persisted, despite a denial of funds for the purpose by the Senate Republican leaders, in digging deeply into the background of the contract and the combine behind it. One measure of its success is the $2 million slander suit which Arkansas Power and Light, a Dixon-Yates subsidiary, has brought against conservative banker Arthur E. McLean of Little Rock, Arkansas, in an effort to intimidate prospective committee witnesses.

Langer, together with the subcommittee's ranking Democrat, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, has announced that Congress will be asked to appropriate $1 million for their work next year. Plans are to expand the staff and broaden the investigation to include all the monopolistic trends which have been accelerated during the past two years. And in addition to Dixon-Yates, other public-utility projects—notably the St. Lawrence project in New York State—are slated for a close look. The subcommittee seems agreed on what it wants to do regardless of which side wins, although no $1 million will be forthcoming from a Republican Senate.

Here he comes now.

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Editorial

Eisenhower Prosperity

On October 24, Univac, the great electronic brain which makes calculations for the Bureau of the Census, ground out the official monthly figure on unemployment. Government practice is to lay this number aside until the "companion" estimate on employment is also ready for release. The two statistics are normally made public together on the second week of each month. But that would have been after the election. And Univac had produced good ammunition for the Republican cause—the number of unemployed was down by 358,000. Both the President and his Secretary of Labor James Mitchell hastened to make the most of Univac's contribution to the campaign, without bothering to supply voters with all the other information needed for a balanced picture.

The story about the state of our economy as told by the President and his Secretary of Labor in the closing days of the campaign was less than candid and complete. On major points, in fact, it is flatly contradicted by official government reports.

"In the past two years," President Eisenhower told the National Security Industrial Association on October 25, "there have been heartening events. They should release tremendous economic energies and, for all of us, open the door to a better, happier future."

"Without war our economy is working at near record level" . . . "A year ago inflation was halted" . . . "Government has helped to keep our economy on an even keel. And the result? This year, 1954, is our most prosperous year in history."

Is there reason to be "heartened" by the trends of the past two years? Let us look first at the volume of production—which determines the amounts of goods and services available to the American people.

1. Production

Total national production in the two years of the Eisenhower Administration has fallen from the 1952 level of about $370 billion to about $356 billion, a drop of roughly $14 billion, or 4 percent. Industrial production is down 9 percent since a year ago last Spring.

The most recent government figures show that steel production this month was down almost 25 percent from a year ago last Spring. Automobile production in September was down nearly 50 percent. The production of textiles and apparel was down 14 percent; manufacturing sales, 9 percent.

On the average, industrial production grew 5.5 percent each year from 1946 through 1952. If it had continued to grow at that rate after January, 1953, production would not be 9 percent lower today, but 18.5 percent higher.

Each year our population grows. Each year, because of the improvement in skills and machines, each man and woman at work can produce a little more. If our economy had grown enough to keep unemployment down to the levels of the Spring of 1953, we would now be producing $386 billion worth of goods and services instead of $356 billion. We are losing at the rate of $30 billion a year, an average of more than $500 a year for every American family.

In his campaign speeches hailing the Eisenhower prosperity, Labor Secretary Mitchell boasted that "our national production surpasses even the war peak of 1944. It is far above the levels for 1945 through 1952." Obviously it is meaningless to compare the level of far less production required to approach full employment 10 years ago with what it will take to do that today.

2. Jobs

"Unemployment dropped 400,000 this month," the President proudly told his radio audience on October 25. He did not add that *total employment* in October was lower than in September. The number at work outside of agriculture increased during the month from 54.6 million to 54.9 million, "with most of the gains occurring among women in public school employment and in trade and service activities," the government announcement explained. But at the same time agricultural employment fell from 7.5 million to 7.2 million over the month, "as women and young persons left the work force after the peak harvest period." One figure cancelled out the other. The drop in unemployment last month was accomplished largely by changing statistical classifications. Almost half a million more Americans were listed "not in the labor force" in October than in September. How many of these would be "in the labor force" were there places for them, the Census Bureau does not report.

With respect to jobs, Eisenhower declared on October 25 that, "The number is steadily increasing." By official government statistics the number of civilians employed in October, 62.1 million, is fewer than worked during September, fewer for any month since last May, 100,000 less than a year ago, 1.3 million below the peak reached in 1953. Non-agricultural employment, by official figures, is lower than a year ago, more than a million lower than at the peak last year.

But this is not the whole story. With our growing

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population, there should be almost a million more job opportunities this year than last to approximate full employment. Actually, we are nearly two million jobs short.

Secretary Mitchell called on workers to give their campaign support to "this Administration which helped so dramatically in reducing unemployment." But the fact is that average unemployment during 1952, by official figures, was 1.75 million, or 2.7 percent of the civilian labor force. In the first months of the new Administration, the number of jobless declined to about 1.25 million, or less than 2 percent of the labor force. The official October figure of more than 2.7 million unemployed amounts approximately to 4.2 percent of the labor force.

According to bare government figures, unemployment has more than doubled during the tenure of this Administration.

But this is taking into account only the loss of full-time employment. Current part-time, or temporary, unemployment is estimated by competent economists as a further deficit equal to perhaps five million more full-time jobs.

And although Secretary Mitchell and the President argued during the campaign that "hours of work are now getting longer," the fact is that they are still 2.5 percent shorter than in 1952. The experts estimate this loss, in a labor force of almost 64 million, as the equivalent of another 1.5 million full-time jobs.

The index of the employment of production workers in manufacturing (adjusted for seasonal trends) declined every single month from June, 1953, through August, 1954, dropping in all about 12 percent. The first upturn came in September, 1954—an upturn of two-tenths of one percent.

Is this the "heartening" two-year trend which encourages the President?

3. Wages

President Eisenhower assured his campaign listeners that "wage rates are at their all-time peak. Weekly earnings in manufacturing are again on the rise." Secretary Mitchell added the pronouncement that the American working man now has the "highest wages ever enjoyed."

But the latest official figures show that weekly wages in manufacturing this year have averaged 61 cents lower than last year. Labor income in the third quarter of this year was almost $5 billion lower than in the same quarter of 1953.

The President went on to say that "our people have more personal income after taxes than ever before . . . 7.4 billion tax dollars are being left with our people to spend." The fact is that allowing for changes in prices, per-capita disposable income—the average amount each individual has left after taxes—is now $35 less than it was in the summer of 1953. Consumers as a whole are spending slightly more than in early 1953, but they are saving less.

If labor income had increased over the past year at the same rate as it did from 1946 through 1952, income would now be $12 billion higher than it was a year ago. Our true loss is not $5 billion in wages and salaries to workers, but more than $17 billion.

4. Inflation

"A year ago inflation was halted," the President remarked many times in the last week before November 2.

A downturn in the cost of living has occurred. A slight drop in September has brought consumer prices to a level one-half of one percent below the all-time peak. Since labor income shrank by $5 billion this year, however, workers have actually had a significant cut in real earnings. The index of the cost of living is down a half percent from a year ago, but the cost of living is still higher than the index for last year as a whole.

5. Prosperity

". . . 1954 is our most prosperous year in history."

Dividend payments have increased steadily since January, 1953, but average weekly wages have not, in any one of the last 20 months, equalled those paid in December, 1952. Farm income has fallen 7 percent in 20 months while the farmer's cost of living was going up 2.5 percent.

6. $500 Billion in 10 Years

The President's recognition that "in our economy, to stand still is to fall behind," is most welcome. If sincerely felt, it should end the extravagant pride shown to date in barely holding our own in production and employment. Now the President says we must set out for a new goal: "We must advance toward a national production of $500 billion within 10 years."

But to take until 1964 to reach a production goal of $500 billion would mean moving at an average annual rate of growth of only 3.4 percent. From 1950 through 1952, our national production increased at a rate of 7.1 percent a year. To advance at only 3.4 percent a year from now until 1964 would mean a steady accumulation of unemployment year by year. Unless hours of work were cut, at this rate we could expect more than 10 million people to be unemployed by 1964. At that slow rate of growth we would be nearly $100 billion below the production level needed for full employment.

But even a $500 billion economy by 1964, as visioned by Eisenhower, seems out of keeping with the progress of the past year—with national output $14 billion below a year ago, with unemployment more than double, with per capita buying power of every American $35 lower than last year.

How far up can we get by moving down?

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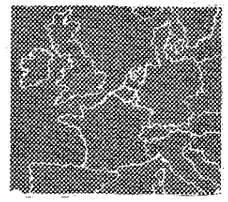
Three Reports on

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION



"A far greater promise of practical co-operation than the late—and generally unlamented—EDC offered"

WASHINGTON, D. C.

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION, the substitute for the European Defense Community put together in a brief six weeks after the French parliament rejected EDC, may turn out to be a better solution to the complex problems of Western Europe than the agency it supersedes.

The main reasons for this are:

1. The military are unanimous in preferring Western European Union to EDC as a device to permit a German contribution to defense of West Central Europe. In EDC they feared that military effectiveness was sacrificed to the ideal of European Union.

2. The balance of power between Germany and the remainder of Western Europe is weighted against Germany in the Western European Union, as the French desired, by the inclusion of Great Britain. Britain could join a defensive coalition such as Western European Union and could not have joined a superstate such as was proposed in the European Defense Community.

3. A gradual approach to European Union may reach the objective earlier than would a superstate organized on a rigid formula and imposed on governments and peoples not mentally prepared for the surrenders of sovereignty required. France was not spiritually prepared to take this step. There were infinite occasions for dissension in the European Defense Community plan. Unless all the partners went into it with the utmost goodwill the supra-natural organizations of EDC would have become forums of acrimony and vituperation, forums of separatism and not of union.

The European Defense Community had very great virtues in the eyes of its protagonists. To some, its council of ministers, its common assembly, its commissariat and its court of justice made it the beginning of a federal or confederal Europe. To others, the European army with a common uniform, common pay and common laws of discipline provided insurance against an autonomous German army and against the revival of the German General Staff.

The European Defense Community also would have controlled the manufacture and level of armaments of the member states. The United States would have attached to the European Defense Community a super Military Assistance Advisory Group to co-operate in the distribution of United States arms end items.

In devising a substitute for EDC that would require less surrender of national sovereignty it was necessary to develop the scheme so as to overcome fears of an autonomous German Army and of the creation of a German General Staff, as well as to provide adequate control of the level of forces and armaments. At the same time, some of the valid objections to EDC could be overcome in the new organization.

Sir Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, had the bright idea of expanding the Western Union, created by the Brussels Treaty which was signed March 4, 1948, into a larger union to include Germany and Italy. The signers of the Brussels Treaty were Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The Brussels Treaty had been sparked by the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948.

The Brussels Treaty powers promptly proceeded to organize for the joint defense of Western Europe. Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery was appointed permanent chairman of the land, naval and air commanders committee of the Brussels Treaty armed forces. He immediately started the organization of a staff and made war plans for

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joint action. Montgomery's spade work was the basis of Eisenhower's organization of the North Atlantic Treaty forces in Europe a year and one half later.

The Brussels Treaty organization was a ready-made framework within which Germany and Italy could be included. It had the advantage of being a going concern. It also had the great advantage that Great Britain was a member. It remained only to furnish it with a new charter, a permanent governing council and an agency to control and supervise the level of forces and armaments and to inspect for violations. Since there was no superstate in the Brussels organization to recruit soldiers into a common army, it became necessary to allow Germany to recruit, build and train its own force. This in turn led to a requirement for a general staff.

Here are the old bogeymen again, an autonomous German army and a German General Staff.

As in the European Defense Community, the autonomous German armed forces are limited in size to a division in the ground forces and corresponding air units. The German navy is purely a coast defense force.

The authority of the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, the position now held by the American General Alfred M. Gruenther, was increased so that all the forces of NATO, to which all the Brussels Treaty powers belong, would be stationed in accordance with his orders. He has the authority to decide upon the composition of higher units, such as the Army Corps, to make the best use of the troops. This gives Gruenther authority, if he wishes, to put more than one German division in an army corps. From the military point of view this flexibility is an important improvement.

Gruenther's control of the logistic services is also increased so that he can withhold ammunition, gasoline or other supplies from any of the NATO troops. It is by this means that a dissident German army could be kept powerless to do harm if such an eventuality were to arise.

THE fighting forces in Western Europe are all stationed east of the Rhine, whereas 95 percent of the supplies are in depots west of the Rhine. No heavy armaments will be manufactured in Germany and all the heavy arms, such as atomic cannon and missiles will be under the control of international staffs in superior army corps and army headquarters. Any national force, under these conditions, is helpless to act independently.

Gruenther explained all this to the French Prime Minister, Pierre Mendès-France, the ugly little man who has put new spirit into the hearts of Frenchmen. Mendès-France admitted that Gruenther made a good case, but, he said, I have to talk to politicians and it will not be good enough for them.

Nevertheless, the provisions for control of force levels, levels of supply and for the manufacture of armaments were agreed to substantially as proposed in the preliminary conference in London.

There remained the paper tiger of the German General Staff. Germany was authorized to have personnel and intelligence sections of a general staff. These are required to plan and supervise the recruitment, training and placement of personnel and to obtain information of the enemy, for which Germany is in a very good position. Germany is forbidden to have operations, war plans or logistic sections of a general staff since these functions will be performed by Supreme Headquarters of NATO.

To a soldier it is curious how the importance of the German General Staff has been magnified. All nations with armed forces have general staffs. The differences between the German and those of other nations are: (1) The German general staff was chosen with extreme care, thoroughly trained and was more effective than the top military staffs of other nations; (2) Until Hitler's time it was responsible to the Emperor and not to the Prime Minister. This was also the case in Japan; (3) Once an officer had been selected and placed in the German General Staff, he remained there the duration of his career, with occasional tours of duty on other assignments or command. In most other armies the general staff officers remain infantry, artillery, etc., and do occasional tours of duty on the general staff.

TO THE credit of the German General Staff, it should be remembered that it was the only German organization with the courage to try to get rid of Hitler. It will now be without the operational sections needed for war making, will be under a civilian defense minister and prime minister, and the officers will be trained as general staff officers in international military colleges. The commanders at SHAPE are confident that whatever dangers there may have been in a German General Staff have been dealt with either in the provisions of the Brussels Treaty or by the power of Supreme headquarters to determine and limit the activities of German forces.

Many French are not satisfied with these controls and restraints, but it actually would be impossible to ask for a German contribution to the NATO forces and expect them to make it under discriminatory and inferior conditions. This type of Frenchman wants a continuing French veto on every German military activity. He would build a strait-jacket and impose sanctions for the least twisting from within. Germany would not enter an agreement under such conditions. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has accepted already discriminatory conditions worded not to appear so, since they refer to prohibitions of the manufacture of armaments in "forward" areas (meaning Germany).

The great restraint on Germany, and the great advance of Western European Union over the European Defense Community is that the looser Brussels organization permits the British to participate and to join with France in creating a balance to German power. To make this effective, and to assure the French, Great Britain took the

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historic step of agreeing to maintain four divisions on the continent for the remainder of this century.

This is a logical step, since the British Isles would be untenable if the continent were lost. The act is, nevertheless, a great and courageous commitment.

Another improvement of the Brussels Treaty provisions over EDC is the ending of the idea of a common army, common uniform, et cetera. To the soldier an army without a country is like a child without a father or mother. Nations sacrifice their sons, and soldiers sacrifice for their country. Take away the nation and you have an army without spirit, without a soul and without the willingness to sacrifice. These military objections to EDC have been met in the Brussels Organization.

The Brussels Treaty as a replacement to the European Defense Community is a great disappointment to those who hoped that EDC would make a momentous step toward a federal Europe. Many statesmen believe that this hope was an illusion. They believe that the step was greater than public opinion and the historic suspicions between nations could bridge at one time.

At least there is no occasion to bewail the lost EDC. It made the great advance represented by the Brussels Organization possible. The formation of the Western European Union is a shining victory after the apparent shambles in Europe following French rejection of the European Defense Community. THOMAS R. PHILLIPS

Brig. Gen. Phillips (USA, retired), military analyst for the St. Louis Post Dispatch, *was in France during negotiations of the Paris Agreements.*

PARIS

EVERYTHING depends, as Raymond Aron, the leading French commentator points out, on whether statesmen and nations can put political and human reality into the framework created by the Paris agreements.

Nevertheless, the shift in emphasis from military cohesion to economic integration is already a long step in the right direction. Practically everyone believes that the Western European Union pacts will be ratified before the end of the year by all the parliaments concerned—rather easily in the French National Assembly and after a bitter fight about the Saar settlement in the Bundestag in Bonn. And then the "last chance" Big Four negotiations with the Russians about Germany will be in order.

The so-called dialogue between Premier Pierre Mendès-France and Konrad Adenauer has turned out to be one of the most useful conversations between French and German statesmen since the end of the war. The Frenchman said its results permitted a start on the road toward liquidating the ancient quarrel between the two nations. The German went farther: he said the results constituted the most promising development in Franco-German relations in a thousand years.

The enthusiasm of the Republican Administration is welcome over here, but a trifle puzzling. For it is common knowledge on this side of the Atlantic that US statesmen in high places didn't encourage the Adenauer-Mendés-France dialogue until quite late in the game. Considering this fact and also that practically all the top US spokesmen went on record in public again and again over a period of several years as believing that there couldn't and shouldn't be any substitute for the EDC, there is mild surprise in Europe now that the leaders of the Republican Administration should suggest that President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles supported WEU from way back and planned the present situation.

Over here Sir Anthony Eden and Mendès-France are given most of the credit—a great deal more than they got on the Eisenhower Cabinet television show. The neutralist and anti-US newspapers in Western Europe had a field day with that show; they laughed, sneered, mocked at it. Even the pro-US sheets had difficulty in reporting the show, if only because the version it offered of the what, why and the how of WEU was so far from European understanding and interpretation of the facts. And since Eisenhower is credited with personal responsibility for this "revolutionary innovation" in political tactics, there's a certain amount of worry among the President's best friends over here about the effect on his future. The *Figaro* of Paris, which is often more Republican than the *New York Herald Tribune,* fears that his "descent into the electoral arena" may change a parliamentary defeat for his party into a personal setback for him. There is sad comment on the "poverty of vocabulary" which leads to "sonorous platitudes" and the conclusion that the GOP's Enemy Number One is "lack of imagination."

This is a fault that can't be attributed to the Western European—Mendès-France—who more than any other is trying to make revolutionary innovations. André Malraux recently said that while Charles de Gaulle remained "the permanent" of France, Mendès had become "the daily" of France; though intended to reduce the Premier in size, the comment amounted to a back-handed compliment, for it admitted that Mendès did, after all, properly and justly stand for France.

Anyway, "daily" is an appropriate tag; for almost every day brings from the Premier the fact, the promise or the threat of change. For example, by the time he leaves for the US he will almost surely have changed not only the composition of the Council of Ministers but

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also its basic form. The party distribution of the membership will be broader, the center of political gravity farther to the Left. This is considered necessary as a preface to greater emphasis on the social and economic aspects of the domestic New Deal. Then in the English manner, rather than the French, there is to be a small "inner" cabinet of men who make the decisions and a large "full" cabinet of the men who carry out the decisions. Mendès-France hopes, moreover, to avoid changes in government and to strengthen executive stability by initiating a system of regular changes within the cabinet: a change in the pattern and form of ministerial responsibility is involved.

The most important innovation thus far, however, involves Franco-German relations. Insisting that European co-operation must be as much economic as military and that it has to be based on improved relations between France and Germany, Mendès-France has worked out with Adenauer an agreement for economic and cultural co-operation between the two nations, and also the two peoples. The practical point of departure is that, though the two countries have a quarrel on the political level, they need each other. It is not generally recognized that West Germany has become France's best customer and is second in the list of countries supplying her. In the second half of 1953 and the first half of 1954, German exports to the franc zone were worth 124,000 million francs, a record figure; French exports to Germany were worth 130,000 million francs.

Not only are France and Germany to develop and diversify this trade; not only will they pool investments and try to win markets together; these undertakings will be open to other countries, especially those of the WEU. Above all the co-operation will extend to the French and German armaments industries, providing a start toward Mendès-France's goal of a standardization and a production pool for armaments.

The agreement calls for the establishment of a Franco-German Chamber of Commerce made up not only of industrialists and farmers but also of government officials and members of parliament. Dr. Fritz Berg, chairman of the West German Federation of Industries, has already discussed in Paris the means of co-operation with French industries. But Mendès-France has made it clear that the object is not the creation of a two-nation cartel; on the contrary, it is to form the nucleus of the multi-nation economic pattern that, in his view, can both strengthen and control the industrial-military structure of the free world in Western Europe—and perhaps, eventually, in a broader area.

There has also been signed a cultural agreement between France and Germany providing for an exchange of teachers, technicians and students, and for the active promotion by each country of the study of the other's language, literature and arts. Here the purpose is above all to end a cultural and intellectual Cold War which began 30 years ago, with the outbreak of the First World War.

Finally, and from the psychological and human points of view, perhaps most important, Mendès-France and Adenauer signed a convention about the maintenance of German war graves in France and about the bringing home of the bodies of French wartime deportees.

If the French and the Germans are willing at long last to get together to settle the affairs of their dead, the chances of their living together in peace—and if necessary, of fighting together for peace—are certainly better. And no wonder the mood in Western Europe is more hopeful.

FRANK GORRELL

LONDON

WHEN DULLES was asked what the new European defense set-up would cost the US he replied: "Not a nickel." And indeed Dulles was the only participant in the London and Paris conferences who made no contribution whatever—except perhaps the most valuable and difficult of all, silence.

But now Europe has heaved the first great sigh of relief that catastrophe has been averted, she is beginning to count the cost. And everywhere signs of uneasiness are evident. In Britain, despite the bestowal of the Garter, Eden has received little of the popular acclaim with which he returned from Geneva. Not a cheer was raised for Adenauer by the little group of Germans who met his plane at the airport. In fact, the real victor both in London and Paris was the indomitable Mendès-France. And it will be some time before his colleagues forgive him for the concessions his obstinacy wrung from them.

In London, the Conservative Party dreads that Eden's pledge to Europe means the end of Britain as a world power—a danger emphasized by the coincidence that the Paris agreements and the Suez treaty were announced to Parliament the same day. Moreover there are signs of a serious division inside the Cabinet about the long-term implications of the new Western European Union. Eden clearly sees it essentially as a military commitment which must not be allowed to prejudice the development of economic and political ties within the Atlantic Community as a whole. Harold MacMillan, now Minister of Defense, with some other Conservative Ministers who were prominent in opposition as supporters of European position, sees it as the first step toward building an independent Commonwealth-Europe grouping in the Western World.

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The Labour Party is likely to accept the Paris agreements in general, and to concentrate on pressing for an American contribution toward the new financial and military burdens which fall on Britain as a result. For the British pledge will mean an additional $500 million expenditure once Germany ceases to pay occupation costs.

The most serious obstacle to ratification is now likely to be in Bonn rather than Paris. Adenauer went to dangerous lengths in satisfying France's demands over the Saar, and on this single issue nearly all Germans will be against him. His only defense will be that without the Saar settlement none of the other Paris agreements would be ratified.

But there is much less enthusiasm for the other agreements today than there would have been a year ago. More and more Germans are beginning to wonder whether so binding a commitment to the Western camp will not cripple their freedom to negotiate with Russia. Besides the Social Democrats and the Trade Unions, many elements in Adenauer's coalition have recently expressed this fear. And it is likely that Russia will make a much more tempting offer for new negotiations on Germany before the Paris agreements are ratified by Bonn next year.

Fortunately, for this very reason, French ratification now looks almost certain. But once the agreements are ratified, France will press strongly for new talks with Russia. And both Britain and America will find it difficult to resist such pressure if Russia shows any interest in talks herself. In fact, the Paris agreements will open a new phase in the Cold War. For the first time Russia will have a real incentive to compromise and the West will feel the strength to negotiate. In many ways this new phase will be more difficult and dangerous than the last, particularly for those whose minds are petrified in the patterns set by the Zhdanov period.

But the overwhelming value of the Paris agreements is that they will make it difficult for any of the Western countries to negotiate independently with Russia. A European settlement with Russia may become possible earlier than most people would now conceive possible. But if so, it must be a settlement which is acceptable to the Western powers, including Germany, as a whole. Providing this cardinal principle is kept in mind, the West has nothing to fear from new talks with the Soviet Union.

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

Facts Wanted, One Kind

by Tom Fitzsimmons

EDWARD LAMB is a multimillionaire who owns radio and television stations. He has asked the Federal Communications Commission to renew his license to operate WICU (TV), Erie, Pennsylvania. The FCC is reluctant to grant him that renewal because, although there has never been any suggestion that his four radio and two television stations, nor, for that matter, his newspaper, the *Erie Dispatch*, have ever been anything but first-rate and very "American," the FCC has "in its files" information indicating that Lamb may once have "associated" with Communists. "Fact-Finding" hearings before an FCC examiner began September 15 and have been held almost daily since. Lamb, who is represented by former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath and Russell Morton Brown, is not always present. It may be that he finds a typical day at the hearings hard to take: witnesses brought in to testify against him by the FCC so far include a man being sought on a warrant for bigamy, another convicted of feeding liquor to underage girls in a cemetery, another who, after a career as a bodyguard, strong-arm man and strike-breaker, was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder, and a woman who, after cross-examination revealed unsavory background facts, tried to brain the defense attorney with a water pitcher.

By holding that it is not prosecuting, merely "fact-finding," the FCC has managed to bring this action under a section of the Federal Communication Act which places the burden of proof on Lamb. Yet the FCC lawyers handling the case, Walter R. Powell, Jr., and Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, have exploited this technicality to deny Lamb's attorneys information normally given by a prosecutor to a defense attorney. They refuse to state specific charges that can be answered. They refuse to give the names of witnesses they will call, with the result that all preparation for cross-examination must be done at great expense via long-distance telephone and telegrams after the government has put the witness on the stand. Having tried to browbeat the examiner into admitting hearsay evidence—"since this is not a trial"—contrary to all rules of evidence, they then resort to the strategy of reading into the record, and the press, "what the witness would have testified." Add attempts to block and hinder cross-examination by defense attorneys and it becomes difficult not to assume that one "fact" at least does not interest them: whether or not their witnesses are telling the truth.

Some, but not all, of this may be excused by repeated demonstrations that neither Powell nor Fitzpatrick know much about legal procedure—both are quite young and their professional experience seems to have been limited

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to FCC work on routine license applications. Powell, in charge of the government's case, interrupts witnesses to suggest answers, interrupts defense attorney Brown's objections until he has accomplished what that objection (often sustained to no avail) was meant to prevent, interrupts the examiner to lecture him on his duties as an employee of the FCC. Fitzpatrick has become famous for shouting "objection!" during cross-examination, then being unable to cite a legal ground for his protest. Both men, in short, are playing the role of prosecutor to the full, although the purpose of the hearing is to determine if Lamb lied when he swore to the FCC that he was not a Communist. Defense Attorney Russell Brown, meanwhile, has led one government witness after another into admissions and contradictions which have resulted in extreme embarrassment for the prosecution, the striking of innumerable pages of testimony, and the possibility, in at least two cases, of perjury citations.

To be present at these hearings, to hear Powell repeat over and over that he "only wants to get the facts" (usually as a prelude to requesting that rules of evidence designed to ensure fairness be set aside), and to watch and listen to a string of witnesses whose integrity and testimony Powell apparently has never troubled to check is finally to wonder about the motives in this case.

IT ALL BEGAN in 1946 when Edward Lamb decided to enter the FM radio field and asked the FCC to license a station in Mansfield, Ohio. Someone else wanted that license, and there was concern about Lamb's past "associations" and "writings." He had opened a law office in the thirties, specialized in civil rights, labor and racial cases, and in 1934 had written a book, *The Planned Economy of Soviet Russia.* He was one of the original founders of the National Lawyers Guild, which he finally left in 1944. And his name appeared on the letterheads of groups listed years later on the Attorney General's list of "front organizations." The FBI investigated, was "unable to find," in the words of the FCC, "that he was unqualified to be a licensee."

Since then Lamb has been investigated 6 times on these same charges. He was cleared each time.

After the 1952 election, President Eisenhower's first appointment to the FCC was Wisconsin Republican John C. Doerfer. Another Wisconsinite, Joe McCarthy, who endorsed Doerfer for the FCC job, had just sent an investigator to look through the Commission's files. Doerfer has admitted that one of the first things he did at the FCC was to pull out the Lamb file and urge a full review. Suddenly Lamb's most routine applications — minor changes in equipment, etc.—were held up, as was his renewal application for the Erie station. The delay dragged through 1953 and into 1954, costing Lamb money, advertising contracts and prestige. He offered a $10,000 reward to anyone who could prove he had misrepresented himself to the Commission in denying pro-Communist sympathies. He requested charges and a hearing "once and for all." Nothing happened. Finally in March, 1954, the Commission dispatched a letter informing Lamb that it had "information containing charges" that he had "closely associated" with Communists from 1934 to 1948, donated money to the Communist Party during those years, *and from 1944 to 1948 had been a member of the Communist Party in Lucas County, Ohio.*

Lamb again petitioned for a hearing, without result. So he took two steps: he challenged the FCC in a US District Court, demanding charges, and a hearing which would place the burden of proof on the FCC. And he appeared before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, considering Doerfer's nomination to a full 7-year term on the FCC, to charge him with conducting a politically inspired vendetta. The FCC then scheduled a hearing and issued a "resumé of basic allegations" not a whit more precise than the original letter. But, the charge of Communist Party membership, fully publicized, was not included; in its place was the accusation: "you intellectually accepted Communism."

LAMB claims that the whole business is something started by business competitors, then taken up for political reasons by Doerfer. He has testified that he received an offer to purchase WICU, replied that he would not be able to get permission till the charges were settled, and was assured that the whole thing would be allowed to die quietly if he wanted to sell. He also testified that other FCC Commissioners had told him that there was nothing new in the files, but that Doerfer had insisted on re-investigation and was the "key" to it.

Doerfer denies all this.

Perhaps the hearings will bring out more of the facts behind the case and cast some light on the reason why the FCC has chosen to handle it in this particular way. At the moment, the motivation is completely unclear.

The hearings will go on for some time yet, then Examiner Herbert Sharfman makes his finding and presents it to the FCC, which can reverse it. If the final verdict is "guilty," Lamb certainly will go to the courts. In the meantime, it is clear that the hearings are not seen by Powell and Fitzpatrick as an attempt to find facts, but as a prosecution which if successful will carry very real material penalties for Lamb: a charge of perjury, and the need to sell millions of dollars worth of radio and television equipment for a song. And since they have chosen to turn it into a prosecution, the Constitutional implications are pertinent: Lamb is accused of associations which were perfectly lawful at the time they supposedly occurred, and with holding, a long time ago, now unpopular opinions; if convicted of having so associated and thought, he will be denied the right to operate radio and television stations now and in the future—this despite the fact that the FCC admits that he has never abused that right and that the reputation of those stations is far above average.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

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The Superficial Aspect

A PROFESSIONAL politician may be secondarily a Democrat or a Republican, but he is primarily a professional. His function, as he understands it, is to give the people what they want, and he will supply crass reaction or creeping socialism with the complete indifference of a haberdasher's clerk handing out blue shirts or white shirts according to the customer's demand.

THIS GIVES to the election of 1954 a finality not characteristic of off-year elections. For the professional politicians were truly puzzled by the results of 1952, when Eisenhower was elected by a huge majority, but the Republican Party barely scraped through in Congress. The fact that the Republicans won at all could be interpreted as evidence that the thinking of the electorate trends toward the Right; but the President's majority taken with the Congressional minority—for the Republican Congressional candidates actually polled fewer votes than the Democratic candidates—could be interpreted as a personal tribute to a popular hero, while the trend of thinking was still leftward.

A month before the election it became fairly clear that 1954 would confirm one theory or the other; and whichever was confirmed would thereafter be the theory of professional politicians, Democratic or Republican, except those representing small enclaves still stubbornly holding out against the general trend. Life will be simpler for the professionals from now on. They know the trend, and their problem henceforth is merely that of running ahead so as to be in a position of apparent leadership.

Of course, this will not apply to such men as Eisenhower and Dulles, on one side, or Truman and Stevenson, on the other. Eisenhower and Stevenson hardly rank as professionals at all; and Truman and Dulles are a cut above professional politicians—they are professional statesmen drawing too much water to veer with every shift of the breeze. But government is in the hands of 6,000 or 7,000 men, of whom 531 are in Congress, the rest in state legislatures and in the executive branches, federal and state. No country in all history has had as many as one thousand genuine statesmen at any one time, so the vast majority of our ruling class are lads who accept the maxim of Alcuin, *Vox populi, vox Dei.*

It is reasonable to suppose, then, that the decision of November 2 will be conclusive, not merely as regards the control of Congress for the next two years, but as regards the direction that will be taken by both parties. For the loose structure of the American party system makes it quite feasible for the minority to campaign successfully on a platform or, "Me too, only more so."

Thus those who would read the results of last Tuesday as a forecast of the results of 1956 are not wise. They forecast only the type of campaign that will be conducted by both parties in 1956, for both will be attempting to move with the popular trend. It is generally assumed that Eisenhower will be the Republican candidate, but his election or defeat cannot be predicted by what happened this year. In the two years that will intervene it is entirely possible for Eisenhower to become indistinguishable from a Democrat, or for the Democrats to find a candidate indistinguishable from Eisenhower.

If the election promises any immediate gain to the country it is in the possibility it offers of more or less concerted action for the next two years. Certain persons are, of course, too well advertised to swing with the tide; Senators Byrd and Jenner, for example, will doubtless remain protagonists of their present points of view. But the nimble mass in both parties will swiftly assume positions consonant with the trend shown by the election.

In theory this could permit the formulation and adoption of a consistent and intelligible, not to say intelligent program, since the aims of the two parties will be identical, namely, to march in the direction that the people are obviously taking. In practice, however, political jockeying will make any such outcome highly doubtful. The personality of the President, and those of the Democratic leaders also are factors that must be taken into account. Will he be willing to receive assistance, or they to give it, in the altered circumstances?

SO AS FAR as the people are concerned, the results of the voting are yet to be revealed; they might be highly beneficial, or they might result in nothing more than locking the wheels. But the professional politician, if nobody else, has gained. He knows now which way the cat is jumping, and if he doesn't "git thar fust with the mostes' " votes, he will have only himself to blame.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Napoleon of Notting Hill

by Lewis Mumford

THE long river of history, whose course Arnold Toynbee has been surveying and plotting during most of his conscious life, has with the last four volumes finally reached its destination. But as with a river, the word "destination" is a misleading one. For a river is a flowing body that begins in a hundred trickles and runnels and springs high up in the mountains, often passes through the most interesting tracts of land midway on its route; drops its heaviest stones where the currents begin to slacken; overflows its banks and leaves beneficent layers of fertile soil under violent seasonal changes; and finally meanders through its lower valley, twisting and turning, changing its direction so often that the traveller hardly knows which way his boat is pointing; and at the end loses itself in a thousand different channels of its silt-laden delta before the muddy waters eventually mingle with the blue sea. For those interested in the ways of rivers, any part of that journey may serve as destination; while he who circles above the mouth of the river, waiting for a final revelation, courts heavy disappointment: the river loses itself at last in the eternal ocean.

A Study of History, Vols. VII-X, by Arnold J. Toynbee. (Oxford; $35).

ONLY those who have patiently tried to grapple with Toynbee's ten volumes will understand how well this characterizes both the subject matter and the treatment. It reveals, too, the special virtues of this monumental survey, and reduces some of its apparent weaknesses, the dawdling in inlets padded with water-lilies, the capturing of side-streams, the sinuous backward movements, into the necessary characteristics of a mighty river—no young torrent carving through a straight gorge, but a great, cumulative, widening stream of water that has already planed down a whole mountain mass, and in reaching physiographic maturity has lost the capacity for swift movement.

Even the small part of human history that is visible to historians is one of the most complex and mysterious of all the phenomena presented to man; and the glory of Toynbee's work—a glory that no criticism, however radical, can diminish—is that his is perhaps the first mind that has done something like justice to its complexity and mystery. Though he has had his precursors, from Augustine and Ibn Khaldun onward, he has earned, more effectively than any rival, the right to be called the Master, if not the Father, of Universal History.

BECAUSE these ten volumes rest on a lifetime of study, they demand almost another lifetime for the reader to understand them and assimilate them. For those who seek quick conclusions, this is a trial of patience; and there are times, I confess, when even the most strenuous student finds himself like a swimmer caught in a tangle of weeds, almost frantic to extricate himself from the details that make it impossible for him to move forward, or even to raise his head high enough to get a glimpse of shore. Partly because of this fact, partly because Toynbee's method, which utilizes myth and drama and breaks with many of the idola of supposedly scientific and objective thought, there is a tendency in certain scholarly quarters to dismiss this great work on grounds that are more shaky than the methods they criticize. But the merit of Toynbee's work lies precisely in those fields where he challenges current preconceptions, methods, goals; and even when, after accepting that challenge, one comes to different conclusions than Toynbee's, as I frankly do, one must be grateful to him for posing such significant questions, for they lead one to explore territory that had hitherto not even been marked as "unknown" on the historian's and the sociologist's maps.

How shall one approach these final four volumes? In a sense, though they existed in the original plan of Toynbee's work in their present sequence, they are anti-climactic. Part of their material, on Renaissances and Encounters, fills up blank spaces left in his first three volumes on the growth and integration of civilizations, and logically they seem out of order here; part of them, Volume VII, in fact, is an amplification and in part a restatement of the role of a universal religion in bringing the cycle of defeat and disintegration to a close. Perhaps the best way to begin this review is to start with Volume Ten; for this volume, besides containing an index of almost two hundred pages, holds this historian's own disarming Confession of Faith and his acknowledgments to his many mentors. This biographic portion brings one close to the personal sources of *A Study of History*—though it remains teasingly silent at the point where one might most eagerly seek revelation: the spiritual encounters that opened his eyes so fully to the part played by religion in human development. Aware of poignant temporal parallels between himself and the author of *The City of God,* composing his interpretation of history in a similar period of disintegration, Toynbee has yet to follow Augustine by writing his Confessions.

In Volume Ten we follow Arnold Toynbee's personal development as historian. Toynbee grew up in the heart of London, at No. 12 Upper Westbourne Terrace: one of those modest Victorian quarters of London that still retained, along with occasional Georgian details, some of the spaciousness of eighteenth century planning. This district is known as Notting Hill; and lovers of Chesterton's brilliant fantasy, *The Napoleon of Notting Hill,* will recall that its hero, Adam Wayne, revolted by the drab bureaucratic mediocrity of London, mad with visions of medieval pomp and pageantry, led a movement to return to the more parochial world of the Middle Ages.

TOYNBEE'S mind moved in just the opposite direction to that of Adam Wayne. Equally inspired by history, and equally committed to Christianity—for Toynbee history is a vision of "God revealing himself in action to souls that were sincerely seeking him"—Toynbee moves on to the stage of universal history and focusses his drama on mankind.

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For his early awakening to history, and along with that to literature, Toynbee acknowledges his debt to his mother, who, apparently sensing his readiness, put into his hands contemporary researches on ancient civilizations, along with Milton and Browning.

Like many minds that go far in their fields, he had an early sense of his vocation. That sense was nurtured by relatives who had lived through the great episodes of nineteenth century English history, in far parts of the Empire; and it was further stimulated by all the treasures of distant lands and cultures so easily accessible, across Kensington Gardens, at the India Museum and the Victoria and Albert, to say nothing of more distant collections in that great metropolis.

No contemporary of ours has made such ample use of the resources of a great city as Toynbee has; and if his study of history is in some sense an image of an ancient river, it is also, in its vastness, its complexity, its impenetrability, and its magnificent profusion and confusion an image of that great overgrown megalopolis, stifled by its very success. If the age of the megalopolis is coming to an end, as some of us venture to prophesy, then Toynbee's vast work may stand for good and bad as its final symbol and image: its etherialization, to use Toynbee's term.

I SHALL not follow Toynbee's preparation in all the details he copiously spreads before us: enough to say that it was supplemented by his old-fashioned Oxford education—still "late medieval Italian," as he demurely notes—with a discipline in the Latin and Greek classics so thorough that in moments of emotion he writes verse in one of those languages rather than in English. What would seem affectation in another writer, his failure to translate ancient languages into English when quoting them, may well be second nature with him. This education accounts for both Toynbee's patience and thoroughness, and his "English" sense of obedience to the empirical fact; for though his categories of thought tend to exclude or cramp historic data that do not easily fit them, he usually gives free enough play to the data to provide his reader with the necessary correction, and sometimes generously enlists the aid of other critical minds to correct his own bias. Exhaustive in some places, his scholarship nevertheless often has curious lapses in others; as in his failure to give even passing mention to the work of important precursors like Stuart-Glennie or Henry Adams.

TOYNBEE'S formal education has been topped throughout his life by wide travel, which brought him on a psychally crucial journey to the Near East before 1914; and that in turn was rounded off by active responsibilities in the Foreign Office in both World Wars: one of the indispensable experiences for that part of history which may be interpreted as "past politics." These facts help to explain Toynbee's felicities as a writer, his vivid, sometimes too overladen imagery, his warm humanism, which draws freely on the resources of both ancient and modern literature; perhaps also his strain of active Christian piety, bequest of the early Tractarian movement at Oxford, so different from the rather arid hedonism-cum-science that characterized the Cambridge of his slightly older contemporary, John Maynard Keynes.

One thing more must be noted: a memory so capacious that it holds together and relates a larger tract of history than anyone before has attempted to embrace, much less to interpret. Toynbee's memory, indeed, comes so close to producing "total recall"—as one discovers in his acknowledgments—that it has sometimes doubtless been almost as much of a handicap in writing this study as a help. In the end, he was saved from the "perils of omniscience," which he himself recognizes, by his simple discovery that

> . . . Life is action. A life which does not go into action is a failure, and this is just as true of a prophet's, a poet's, or a scholar's life as it is true of the life of a man of action in the conventionally limited popular usage of the term.

That combination, that completeness, gives substance and impact to *A Study of History*, and this compensates in no small degree for what seem to me a fundamental weakness in its sociology and its philosophy.

This *Study of History*, then, is at bottom of a great act: an assertion, against the materialism and nihilism of our time, of the dignity of human life and the importance of history itself—though, for Toynbee as for Reinhold Niebuhr, there is no resolution of the ultimate problems of history except in "An Other World." The last four volumes add nothing essential to that conclusion. Toynbee had already reached it in Volume Six.

The first notes for the topics and contents of this history, Toynbee observes in the preface to the final volumes, were made on the Orient Express, en route from Constantinople to England, in September, 1921; the first three volumes were published in 1934; the second three in 1939; and, after the hiatus of the Second World War, he finished his writing of the last four volumes, in 1952. (There will also be, he promises, an historical atlas and gazetteer, and a final critical volume of Reconsiderations.) This work is therefore contemporary with the period of disintegration that followed the sudden explosion of the First World War: that winter period of Faustian civilization, predicted by Spengler, in which the hard men of fact would seize power and turn society into a mere engine for multiplying that power. This transformation of democracy into war dictatorship, of Communism into Fascism, of imperialism into colonial nationalism, of war into genocide, all took place during this period. Though Toynbee, unlike Spengler, does not throw his own weight on the side of doom, his pessimism is even more profound; for his doctrine of religious salvation deprives him of even Spengler's lyric joy in the opening phases of a civilization's development. On the whole, Toynbee is more conscious of the degrading forces than the upbuilding ones, more concerned with the final response to disintegration, religious detachment and transfiguration, than with forces that delay it or avoid it by resuming development on an "earthly" plane: more concerned with the modes of salvation through a "universal church" than with maturation and growth and transcendence.

AS A result, his inquiry, which began hopefully in the field of history, This World (to use Toynbee's capitals, along with his Christian terminology) ends in the field of theology, The Other World. The final outcome of Toynbee's exhaustive and erudite analysis is a re-affirmation of the position of his predecessor, Augustine, in *The City of God*: the way out is "the way into An Other World, out of the range of the City of Destruction." This is the answer

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that he reaches by eliminating, one by one (to his own satisfaction) all the other possibilities. The only way in which the conclusion he frames in Volume Seven differs from that he had reached in 1939, is that, instead of regarding Christianity as the sole source of true salvation, radically different, through the fact that Jesus was indeed God incarnate, from that offered by other high religions, he now accords an almost equal degree of efficacy to the other great revelations. Toynbee thus overcomes each "Universal" Church's parochialism by what is, from the standpoint of Christian orthodoxy, an heretical admission, though he makes it in much the same spirit as Mahomet admitted the claims of Judaism and Christianity.

To make anything like a close critical analysis of Toynbee's conspectus of history is beyond the province of the present review. There are indeed few scholars, even historians, who are capable of even coming to grips with him in his own province, for he has widened the range of his subject beyond the reach of current scholarship: so that perhaps only those who have first been his students will prove capable of correcting him at every point in detail. Fortunately, one may say something about the impression left by this work as a whole. On the positive side, I would point out that no book that deals with human affairs has been more free from the blatant parochialisms of our age and our civilization: the obsessions of nationalism, the exaltation of Hellenic and later European civilization at the expense of nineteen other significant societies, our excessive pride in material conquests and mechanical productivity, our naïve submission to the one-eyed methodology of the physical sciences and "objective" scholarship; the bias of narrow specialism and egocentricity, the notion that our age is the climax of human existence and that its ephemeral values are eternal ones.

As far as mortals may, Toynbee approaches his theme with clean hands and a pure heart, and as one who has not lifted up his soul unto vanity: witness his judgment on the consistently brutal ways of the English-speaking peoples in dealing with native populations. Furthermore, this is one of the few works of modern scholarship, not expressly devoted to theology, that does justice to the immense part played by religion in the development of human society: a correction of the rationalist illusion which regards religion as a primitive aberration and incidentally a confirmation of Benjamin Kidd's unfashionable insight more than half a century ago.

But if Toynbee, in the very conception of this great work, broke free from many of the idola of modern civilization, he did not, unfortunately, escape an older set of idola. In particular, he succumbed to that naïve dualism which is almost engrained in the grammatical structure and vocabulary of our Western languages, with its flat distinctions between matter and spirit, dynamic and static, form and process. This original dualism—Platonic, Christian, or Cartesian—helped produce the partial order of rationalism and the partial objectivity of science, which fails to take account of its own subjective biases: likewise, it fostered the one-sided materialism of modern industry—for what is that but a mirror image, in reverse, of an equally one-sided spiritualism, which Christian theology has presented as ultimate reality? The fact is that Toynbee's dualistic metaphysics and theology run like a deep fissure through his whole argument and weaken even the soundest parts of it. Matter and Spirit, External and Inner, Macrocosm and Microcosm, Society and the Individual Soul—these oppositions and antinomies are treated by him as if they in fact were exclusive and separate. But surely all sound thought, not least that of our own age, is an attempt to bring together, as diverse aspects of a dynamic, holistic, unified process, forces that the mind, through the very separateness and fixation of its categories, tends falsely to hold apart as self-sufficient entities.

This radical flaw in Toynbee's metaphysics makes it impossible to do justice to formative and purposive acts that are at work at every level of life, giving meaning to material circumstances and giving visible shape and form to what, a moment before, was an invisible idea or dream; so that even minor and menial tasks attain dignity just to the extent that they serve the whole process. "Nor soul helps body more," to quote one of Toynbee's favorite poets, Browning, "than body soul."

For Toynbee, meaning and value and form come into their own only when the hampering body has been minimized or left behind: cut off from their sources in life, they exist for him in a final act of transfiguration that brings man close to God. Since this final act, as Toynbee sees it, does not become generally possible till life in this world is shattered and desperate, every formative or creative moment in civilization—or of personal existence—serves not as a partial revelation of the Ultimate but just the opposite—nothing less than a postponement of man's final happiness, since that happiness becomes possible only when man renounces the hope of any earthly felicity.

Toynbee's conclusion is orthodox Augustinian doctrine; and it brings him very close to Reinhold Niebuhr's position in our own day; but it lacks the robust sense of health that one finds in the dualism of Thomas Aquinas, for the reason that Aquinas, like Aristotle before him, was essentially both a better sociologist and a more hopeful contemplator of life's natural circumstances and possible goods.

My conclusion is that the problems that Toynbee set himself to answer in *A Study of History* cannot be answered in terms of the metaphysical and sociological framework that he has used. For this reason, these problems seem to him insoluble "In This World" and he is therefore driven to seek an Other Worldly exit, forced upon him by his original presuppositions. This is not to say that Toynbee's pessimistic conclusions about the inherent impossibility of achieving a satisfactory life on earth may not, in our own time, be pragmatically justified, just as Spengler's views actually were, repulsive though they seemed to most of us when he put them forth. Modern man, believing only in the omnipotence and omniscience of science now has the power to bring about the most incredible prediction of the Apocalypse: the actual End of the World, in a final sheet of flame. Because of our failure to anticipate this fact and take precautions against it—because rare minds like Toynbee's have come on the scene perhaps too late to

Next week this magazine will feature a new evaluation of Ernest Hemingway by one of his most authoritative critics, Mr. Mark Schorer.

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overcome the inertia of automatic thinking—we may in fact find no way out in "This World." If by a miracle we temporarily escape this sinister destiny, we shall not overcome the fate that threatens us, and deliver ourselves from the treadmill of repetitive Civilizations and equally repetitive Universal Churches, until we acquire a more adequate and comprehensive philosophy than Western Culture as a whole has yet been guided by. That philosophy does not emerge from *A Study of History*. Toynbee's historical breadth in posing the problem of human life and destiny has been nullified, despite his good intentions, by his philosophic narrowness in seeking the answer.

Yet if our world civilization survives its threatened ordeals, *A Study of History* will stand out as a landmark, perhaps even a turning point.

The Young Artist in Britain

by Peter Crowcroft

THE successful artist in Great Britain —for him the bowler hat, or the black Homburg. He looks more like a stock broker than an artist. Which is as it should be. For today an artist has to be more of a business man than ever in the past.

Pity though. For business sense is no guarantee of any other sense. It certainly means the good artist who is a poor "politician" has a grim time.

To analyze how this all came about would take us into sociology, a subject with mountainous data and no laws: the rise of institution; the normative effects of mass produced text-books; and above all, the cost of living.

This high cost of living means it is just impossible to "get by." A measure of this is that a majority of the present University population receives grants from the State. Most parents cannot afford to send their children to college.

If only, before finding a style, one could write for five, ten years. Novels only begin to be a reasonable source of income by the time the fourth or fifth has been ripped out of oneself. Provided they are any good.

Meanwhile—how to live?

There must be a solution. Indeed, there are many solutions. There are as many solutions as there are personalities and varying circumstances. For the writer is not the pale pansy of exquisite sensibilities found littering the "Literary Societies." Writers, and most other artists are manual workers. They have a physical aggressiveness. They rage at their work, at the public, at their lack of recognition. If they did not, we should never hear of them. For art is labor; an exhibition of *works;* a list of books hammered out. And creative works take their own time. Time—meaning hunger and clothes and rent.

Also there is all the rest of life. Not so much life around, which has to be grappled with anyway, it being the raw material one labors on. Grammatically, life is the object, to which you yourself stand as subject.

No, the problem is more the one of personal life: of marriage, of children, of home.

A child cannot skip a meal—have a coffee and cigarette instead. It grows out of clothes, if it does not wear them out. Children do not flourish in basements—a feature more prominent in the London artists' life than the traditional attic.

Wives are usually very good, their faith in their husband often exceeding his in himself. A writer at the altar should say, "love me, love my typewriter." He would find most women saying "I do."

The prestige of an artist in Great Britain is high. Of course we are expected to be stronger than we usually are. And it is also usually expected that we will be broke. That is, unless we wear bowler hats or black Homburgs. We usually are broke, because of the fugue.

The fugue is born of the jobs we get to earn bread and butter, and the task we set ourselves to try to make our lives significant. Or rather, the welling out, the drivings, the cascades of images and people and stories that stream across our minds, as we sit in offices selling glacé cherries, or bend over a factory bench. It means that only rarely will we be much good at our bread-and-butter jobs. We can only allow a small part of our brains to do them.

Sometimes the "big chief" is pleased to have an odd-fish like us about, so we do not manage too badly. We might not earn the firm currency, but we are something to talk to the wife about when he gets home in the evening. Or mention to business associates. We even bring a mite of prestige to the dark, satanic mills.

A few of us get jobs closer to our medium. We could live on the proceeds of a small column. If it were only ours once a week—every week

Perhaps our most tramp-like members however, have just an occasional column, and a very occasional article accepted. If a most poetic friend of mine does not land a short *belle-lettre* soon he will end up on a November the Fifth pyre.

The intellectual tramp who is trying to get to his public with insufficient thought about his material means is the person most likely to look arty. For him the corduroy, the bow-tie, the unshaven face. Poor Bohemian—no credit for him.

And often there is a kind of cruelty committed by him towards those around. He has elements of ruthlessness—all on a small scale. For those who care for him, there is anxiety. One can only hope that he has real talent, that it is all not for nothing.

THE question of talent is difficult. The fact has to be digested that there is small connection between our total personality and our artistic abilities. If we are pleasant or unpleasant, kind, stupid, mean, curious, or what, we may still be great—or nothing. And yet, of course, these traits are important in our professional contacts. Important, that is, for the beginner. Later on, if a publisher knew one had a guaranteed sale of ten thousand copies, he would

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not care if the writer shrank heads in his spare time, and drank benzene.

And the beginner cannot really ignore his psyche. Not in practical life. His stumbling silly soul is one of the dim figures trying to find itself in the dark room where the past, present, and future of his discipline writhes and mumbles to itself. It is a dark place where the writer spends most of his time. With only a quick glance at bread-and-butter office, rent-and-clothing factory.

There are other kinds of material arrangements.

There are those who are kept, or have private means.

At first blush this would seem ideal. Though the numbers of such people are small, one would think their quality very high. That is, that the work they produce would be good.

Generally speaking, this is not true. Somehow it has all been too easy. The better public school. The more famous old University. The right contacts. The nice dainty Chelsea flat . . . Once perhaps, for some kinds of art, this would have been real forge. A room of one's own.

But twentieth century letters reach across the blood and graveyards of two World Wars. Wars that have changed values, worn thin the feudal structure of the past. A writer now could have a Cockney accent—speak with a dialect, a provincial accent, that generally has been "out of fashion" for centuries.

INDEED, we are slowly learning—the poets particularly—the old lesson. Art is nothing if it is not a communication. Secret languages and idioms do not constitute art. So in a way the privileged man has the harder task. He has to discover the generalities of life, which have been as common as bread to his brothers.

Something else has complicated the position of us all. The public has been changing. Where, as once there was, roughly speaking, a graded series of journals and magazines, there is now a discontinuity. Mass education and the mass communication machines—press, TV, radio, and so on, have made their impact. They have done what the nineteenth century Tories predicted universal franchise would do. They have created a vast demand for mediocrity.

These media, by presenting a relatively easy method of earning a living, have probably destroyed more creative talent than all the draughty attics of the past.

How this could happen is a subject in itself. Art itself, among other things, is communication. Yet we know of not one genius produced by the modern press, which daily communicates to hundreds of millions, nor one composer who first reached his public through the radio concert. Perhaps it is too early yet. Or too late.

What should be done? Reduce the franchise and communications to the select few? The select few who know better? The select few who devise A-Bombs and H-Bombs and have higher neurosis rates and divorce rates, and who yet prefer my work to the comics read by their more stable, but allegedly more immature, fellow citizens?

Between the pulp and the rare, what is there? Very little. Since the war, several of the middle of the road magazines have gone to the wall. And several new ones, paying badly, if at all, appeared and shortly perished. It is here where the beginner is caught. The glossy cover as a going concern, prefers names and the pulp press prefers—pulp.

For one's reputation, it is very worth while to get into the rare magazine. Even advertisers think so. But the appearance will be only now and then. It is no source of income until the writer is so well established he would do it as much for prestige as anything else, anyway. So, post-war it has not been easy for the young writer. Paper has been dear and restricted, so that even the journals there are, have been small.

Personally, I have never under-rated the freak, ephemeral magazine. Here one could forge weapons. They cannot all be Yellow Books, but they are a platform, even if only for a moment in time. There are difficulties, of course, in writing short articles, when trying to become a novelist. The pace, the structure, the style, all are different.

A STILL-YOUNG ex-service man found the literary world already there. It had its hierarchy of gods and myths and masks in place. All the new-comer had learnt and done for years seemed of no value. What he said and how he said it somehow was for the wrong ritual.

This is changing. Both sides are changing. On the one hand, the soldier has at last begun to see where he is trying to go now. And for two or three years, the expression "pre-war" has been used more and more in a derogatory sense. The public are, at last, growing weary of middle aged poets who will not change with them, and of the dreams of a childhood in an age none of us knew.

This won't affect pulp. Men may come and men may go, but pulp goes on for ever.

But the desire to read the work of my generation is growing. Common associations. Common problems and solutions. Common mistakes. The tremendous experiments of the twenties have been digested.

Publishers have said to me, "You writing chaps are altruists. There's no money it it." They usually go on to give a resumé of publishing difficulties—until *they* sound like altruists.

Of course, they miss the point. If you work as hard as a writer does, you cannot be doing it for money. The same amount of work, mental and physical, would make a fortune in any other business.

After the long apprenticeship, after the writing into the waste paper basket for years, after the endless black coffees, after the night-long arguments, after all the toil, the sincerities and despairs—after all the years, pick up a book with your name on the cover—and know you are as broke as when you started.

Now, if you are only executive enough, don your pin-stripe. Organize your files and records. Stir, run, phone, contact. Your wife still works? Forget it. This is Big Time. Show that great loving public your great lovely face. You were a commando in the war? That's a good angle. You've been a waiter? And a mechanic and a baker and a clerk? How interesting.

A brilliant fellow, Crowcroft. Always knew he'd make it.

But then, maybe you do not do these things. You may have come from this direction or that. Agents lend money. Publishers sometimes help. Maybe you just want to say what you want to say. And you never really change—except, your wife stops working. And the children get better dressed. That sort of silly thing.

And you never get round to buying that black Homburg. After all, you are a writer, not a business man.

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A Protracted Sneer

THIS exhibition, in part retrospective, of Mr. Waugh's short fiction will do little to alter or enhance his reputation. Most of the pieces are reasonably familiar to readers of Mr. Waugh, and the later ones exhibit no startling developments or departures in theme and mode. It is Waugh, more or less pure and for the most part fairly simple. If one were to characterize the stories in general, one might plump for the heading, Satire.

Yet, is it after all satire as we look to find it in the work of such writers as

Tactical Exercise, by Evelyn Waugh (Little, Brown; $3.75).

Swift, Pope or Fielding? After all allowances for differences of time, place and action are duly made, the question persists: what has Mr. Waugh been writing about all these years, and out of what feelings, what attitudes, does the fiction come? Curiously, we never seem to ask such questions as we read say, *Gulliver's Travels* or *Joseph Andrews*; behind every line, informing the whole, pulsate the rhythms of the authors' hatred or contempt or scorn, and from the vitality of such feeling we can catch the sense of love, sometimes perhaps thwarted or deformed, that gave rise to the invective and the irony. What do we look for in satire, after the first sneers and laughter, but some reassurance that the time is indeed flagitious (like all times) and that here is an author who in castigating vice knows and clings to virtue—not the virtue of mankind as it could never be, but as it by nature was meant to be and can be. The most devastating ironies of the great satirists come from hatred, surely, yet from a hatred that for its very vitality must tap the source of all vitality; namely, love. Vicissitudes of fame and fashion apart, this always, it seems to me, separates the men from the boys, the writers of satire from the journalists; Jonson from Fletcher, Congreve from Sheridan, Shaw from Van Druten. A high moral purpose, working in the fury and mire of human veins, and the low shifts men stoop to: this is the double theme of classic comedy and of satire, and it is just here, I believe that Mr. Waugh fails, for all his real virtues of wit and style.

When one has said this much, one has in a sense said all, for certainly satire without moral center is not satire but at best the protracted sneer, often effective and invariable destructive, if not of its object, at least of its presumptive aim. Significantly, "Work Suspended," the longest and best of the pieces in this collection, ends in irresolution—it is abandoned, not in the Wildean sense. Though Mr. Waugh may tell us that this represents a fragment of a novel he did not care to complete, most of us who have read the earlier novels would guess that there can be no completion for such work, only the dissolution of, say, *Brideshead Revisited* or *Put Out More Flags*. It would seem that when Mr. Waugh cannot manage to end his stories with absurd accidents, as in *A Handful of Dust*, he must simply let them go—and for reasons that are, I think, implicit in the moral view of the writer and the attitudes he takes towards humanity and individual human beings.

It is all accident, whatever happens. The characters in the novels are beset by the demon of the absurd; rarely wholly vicious, they are never credibly decent, nor do their fates have relevance to anything but the designs of the demon, who, in Mr. Waugh's eyes, seems to rule affairs as shabbily as a bureaucrat. Under the very laughter he provokes, Mr. Waugh seems to provide a current of self-congratulation that it is not thus with him nor with us—these people have no business with you and with me. They may be as contemptible as we wish to make them and none of the contempt can turn back on us, for it has no real moral measure, no specific object save that of an amusement we may hate ourselves for feeling and a disgust that is too cool to fire a purpose.

The stories included in *Tactical Exercise* go along with the novels with due appropriateness. Only the last, "Love Among the Ruins," suggests a turn, a new excursion, on Mr. Waugh's part, and it is the most considerable failure in the volume. The reasons for such failure are various, but what strikes one most vehemently is the inescapable inference that the author's subject has passed away with his world; since the death of Agatha Runcible and the London of *l'entre deux guerres*, a new society with which the author neither can cope nor sympathize has arisen, with the result that such a story as "Love Among The Ruins" must fall back on Aldous Huxley and the George Orwell of *1984* to attain to some sort of point of view. Lacking the somber fury of Orwell and the levity of Huxley, Mr. Waugh can only depress us, if that, with his sketch of Miles Plastic and his world. What oft was thought but usually better expressed, in fine. Perhaps such a story is the logical conclusion of the path Mr. Waugh found himself on at the end of *Brideshead Revisited*; unlike another humorist, Mr. P. G. Wodehouse, Mr. Waugh could not let well enough alone, could not stick to putting out what he could do and taking his chances of becoming dated or repetitious.

The religious intrusion that so embarrassingly destroys *Brideshead Revisited* does not recur in "Love Among The Ruins" yet for the reader acquainted with the novel some of its shadow falls across the pages of the story. What, one wants to ask, does the author want? what does he like? Must we all, to avoid the society the author says must be ours if we pursue present sources, join his secret society of pure English Roman Catholics, a club that reminds one more of some sort of cross between the Knights of Columbus and Skull and Bones than it does of an ecumenical church? What bothers Mr. Waugh about the society of contemporary England is, quite frankly, the people. He does not like them. I dare say Swift did not like the people about Queen Anne's court nor Pope the dunces that filled his world, yet these latter two had a firm moral base from which to rear their satiric structures; their hatred of the licentious and depraved serves even today to remind us of how far short we fall—not of the ideal but of the appropriate. Mr. Waugh has no power so to remind because he has neither love for life nor attachment to places and persons, only a vague hagiology, a hankering after some lost innocence, a time when everyone loved Beethoven quartets and could tell good

Coming

New Republic's
40th Anniversary Issue
November 22

"Leonardo da Disney"

by David Low

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cognac from cheap brandy. The often-flung accusation of snobbery falls short of the mark, I think; snobbery is often a vital quality in a writer; it literally forces him to be on the make. But in Mr. Waugh's stories, as in the novels, one feels mostly weariness and the frail lamentation of the poor in spirit.

This is, of course, largely Mr. Waugh's chosen subject, yet what can he resort to finally to *show* this but expressive form? The brilliance of style is with these stories still (it is notably absent in "Love Among The Ruins"), the power to make of a bald narrative something depressingly vivid, as in the title story—a spare idiom that hits unerringly on details that suggest the theme of ruin, waste and dispossession. Yet now, after the war, the author finds little that is funny in all this. It comes too close to home; the exposure of a ruined society becomes an exposure of the self, real or imagined, and the comfort of ironic understatement rings coldly in the ear. What can a man do but look for someone or something to blame? Unfortunately, Mr. Waugh allots the blame exclusively to "modern" ways—bureaucracy, centralization, psychologizing. The plight of Miles Plastic in "Love Among The Ruins" may well be an example of the author's prescience, but it has all been done before and for the reader it is simply not enough to be told that all these things are bad; he wants to be moved to feel their essential badness. To do this Mr. Waugh would have to abandon that weary, cynical style and put passion on. The expressive form eventually defeats itself, and though we recognize the truth in much that the author has to say, it has become very nearly a matter of indifference.

Perhaps of all disappointments this book brings, the chief may lie in our sense that there seems to be nowhere for Mr. Waugh to go. The stories represent work done over a period of twenty-one years, and it is curious how little the focus widens or sharpens. Always the same good ear for dialogue, the same sharp eye for revealing detail, the same sensitivity to the pompous and the fake. Such gifts are rare and Mr. Waugh employs them fully in many cases. Who nowadays can see the type so clearly under the singular? As a writer of a certain kind of comedy, Mr. Waugh belongs to an eminent English tradition—Jonson, Wycherley, Congreve, Shaw—but he has had the misfortune to live in an age hostile to artifice and style. The theater would have been the proper home for his characters and plots, but fiction is today's literature. An aristocratic society would have patronized such comedy, but we are all middle-class. No work is harder to write than comedy of manners and none more difficult to apply to life, particularly in periods remote from that of the author. If Mr. Waugh's work has already begun to obsolesce, not manners but what manners reveal is at fault. For comedy of manners, like satire, has a moral base and without that there is nothing but humor, then quaintness, and finally nothing.

LOUIS O. COXE

Missionary Ambassador

WHAT has been the record of American idealism in China? What have been the fruits? Why the seemingly disastrous failure? Some of the data for answers to these crucial questions are to be found in this important book. Its author is an outstanding example of American idealism at its best. Born in China of missionary parents, he was educated in the South of this country and combines the courtly graciousness and culture of the best of that section with the sensitive courtesy of his native land. Moved by a sheer sense of duty, in his young manhood he returned to China as a missionary of his church. Most of his long lifetime he has devoted to Christian education in that land. For more than a decade he taught in a theological seminary and there entered on the novel undertaking of introducing his students directly to the Greek that they would use in their Biblical studies without the intermediary of English. Then, in 1919, he was persuaded to become the president of what was soon known as Yenching University, an institution which arose from merging the efforts of several Protestant denominations. Under his imaginative leadership Yenching became the outstanding center of Christian higher education in China. On a spacious campus not far from Peking buildings were erected which combined Western utility with Chinese architecture. They were the outward symbol of what was attempted within their walls. The dream which dominated Yenching was to bring to the new China through its youth the best from China's past and the best that the Occident has to offer. The faculty was international. It was predominantly Chinese, but it drew from the United States, Canada, and more than one European country. The financial support was mainly from the United States.

Fifty Years in China, by John Leighton Stuart (Random House; $5).

Yenching and Stuart shared in the vicissitudes of revolutionary China. They outlived government after government in the kaleidoscopic shift of politics in Peking. When the full scale Japanese invasion which began in 1937 engulfed Peking, Stuart remained at his post and kept the university running. He did this without truckling to the Japanese. Indeed he was a channel of information, much of it critical of the Japanese, to his friends in unoccupied China and in America and Europe. When the news of Pearl Harbor was flashed to Peking, the Japanese kept him and two other leading Americans closely confined but not imprisoned. Released by the defeat of Japan, Stuart led in the rehabilitation of Yenching.

Then, in 1946, at the request of General Marshall, Stuart was appointed American Ambassador to China. About half the book is given to his brief but important years in that office, he was involved in the negotiations initiated by Marshall in the effort to bring peace to the distraught land by inducing Nationalists and Communists to co-operate in government and in reducing the swollen armed forces. He had the unhappy experience of seeing the failure of that attempt. He witnessed the effect of General Wedemeyer's mission. He was the unwilling spectator of the disintegration of the Nationalist regime and was in Nanking when the Communists entered that city. He returned to the United States in 1949 and soon thereafter was stricken with the illness which partly incapaciated him and led to his resignation (in 1952) of the ambassadorship.

Dr. Stuart adds little that is startling or that would lead to a significant revision of our knowledge of the events with which he was connected. His memoirs are chiefly of value as an account of a notable and noble life and as a detailed record, from the standpoint of a major participant, events which accompanied the overthrow of the Nationalists and

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the triumph of the Communists. He is critical of Washington, speaks of the indecision and confusion there in high circles after the return of Marshall, and has stern words for the "White Paper." He views that document as an attempt to whitewash American failure by putting the blame upon a friendly government.

One of the chief values of the book lies in its pen portraits of prominent Chinese of the day. Dr. Stuart knew most of them, some of them intimately. He believes that history will eventually deal kindly with Chiang Kai-shek and will recognize him "as a devotedly patriotic, incorruptible, resourceful leader, inflexibly detemined to maintain the independence of his country from any foreign domination and to lay the foundations for her constitutional democracy."

As to the future, Dr. Stuart is convinced that the United States should not recognize the Communist Government, should continue its policy of opposition to trading with Communist China, should persevere in its support of the Nationalist Government, and should not compromise in these policies. He believes that Communism cannot long endure, for it is "founded upon sheer materialism and violent suppression of all criticism and opposition."

What of the questions with which this review was introduced? Although important data toward their answer are here, the answers themselves are not given. Perhaps that is as it should be. They are in debate and no unanimity of opinion has yet been reached. That debate, with its severe soul-searching, must continue. On the conclusions reached and the policies and programs adopted depends much not only of the future of China but also of the world.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

Coming
New Republic's
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November 22
"Bankrupt Liberalism"
by Lincoln Steffens

Bloomer Girl

Susan B. Anthony, by Katherine Anthony (Doubleday; $6).

TO PROTECT Susan B. Anthony against armed mobs when she spoke against slavery, the Mayor of Albany sat on the platform with a drawn gun. As this fine biography proves time and time again, it took more than howling men to keep Miss Anthony from fighting to get for women that freedom in dress and politics which men had long since won. It is well to be reminded that, if women can walk down a beach today with not enough of a swimming suit to show up on their shadow, then it was because such people as Susan B. Anthony defied the jeers of men to wear a short skirt over long bloomers on city streets.

In this fullest life of the daring and devoted suffrage crusader, there is a living lady and not merely a glittering-eyed screamer for women's right's. She notes in Oregon that she wore at a speech, "my gray silk . . . a pink bow at my throat and a narrow pink ribbon in my hair." She was capable of so bitter a comment to a friend as: "those of you who have the *talent* to do honor to poor, oh how poor womanhood, have all given yourselves over to *baby* making, and left poor brainless *me* to battle alone." And yet she was once vain, young woman enough to write home from her job as schoolteacher that, "I have a new pearl straw gypsy hat, trimmed in white ribbon with a fringe on one edge and a pink satin stripe on the other, with a few white roses and green leaves for inside trimming." Indeed, she spent over half of a year's salary on fancy clothes, shawl, muff, mantilla, and this in spite of being raised as a Quaker with a regard for plainness.

One of the virtues of this book is that it gives an adequate account of Susan's ancestry and family, a remarkable group of people with a will almost as strong as hers and an idealism almost as great. Her father was the sort of man who, when Susan helped conceal a mother and children from the husband who had tried to take the children away, could write to his daughter: "Legally you are wrong, but morally you are right, and I will stand by you." A brother was several times involved in shootings because of his fearless editing of a Kansas newspaper. The Quaker influence was no doubt a powerful one in giving Susan the sense that she had no choice in her life but to reject all offers of marriage and dedicate herself to the one cause of votes for women.

It is an astonishing story, of Susan riding all night down a wild canyon in Colorado in a hurtling stage coach to keep an engagement in a mining town (a heckler was seized and thrown in the icy creek), of Susan giving every penny she earned to printing materials on suffrage, of Susan being rowed across the dangerously flooded Missouri, of Susan abandoning Quaker simplicity altogether and appearing on the street in ankle-length bloomers and short hair, of Susan meeting President T. R. Roosevelt in Washington and the Empress Augusta Victoria in Berlin, of Susan defying law by voting in Rochester and defending the men who permitted her to do so, although in the end all were tried and fined and some jailed.

Nor is the book all solemn. There is the amusingly sensible warning of Frances Willard against those who would not even let a man make a bust of Susan on the grounds that only a woman was appropriate: "Please do not take counsel of women who are so prejudiced that . . . they would not allow a male grasshopper to chirp on their lawn." But Mrs. Stanton's remark that Susan should get her own house "where you can . . . be cremated in your own oven if you desire" may not have been intended as humor.

One envies Susan for her ready faith that so much evil could be cured by so simple an act as women voting. But the book nevertheless creates a warm admiration for the lady whose handsome, firm face appears nobly in a photograph taken at the age of 85 (with some extremely handsome lace around it too). Miss Anthony has written a solid and often diverting volume, in spite of the many pages unavoidably given to chronicling arguments that seem petty now and train trips that seem merely exhausting. It is also heartening to see how much liberty Susan was given to urge an unpopular idea, and how many were always ready to defend her when she got into trouble for that idea.

PAUL ENGLE

Notes on the Critics

LEWIS MUMFORD'S newest book is *In the Name of Sanity.* PETER CROWCROFT is a young British novelist. LOUIS O. COXE is a poet and playwright. K. S. LATOURETTE is Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Emeritus, at Yale. PAUL ENGLE is a poet and historian.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► German Sovereignty & Rearmament

SIRS:

Your editorial of November 1, "Germany as an Ally," although refreshingly free from the fatuous complacency with which everyone else from the President down has welcomed the agreement to rearm the Germans and to permit the re-establishment of a German general staff, puzzles me.

You say:

> A sovereign West German Government is bound to enter into discussions with the Kremlin. A rigid doctrine that equates negotiation with appeasement can drive the discussions into a secret illegitimate frame. The safeguard for the United States and NATO is to accept the inevitability of negotiation and accommodation with Russia and thereby prevent the negotiations from developing along bilateral and anti-Eastern lines.

But according to the agreements just signed in Paris, the Western Allies retain "the rights and responsibilities, heretofore exercised or held by them relating to Germany as a whole, including the reunification of Germany and a peace settlement." Therefore, the German Federal Government cannot negotiate with the Russians directly and against our will without violating the Bonn and Paris Conventions. Of course, the sinister possibility exists that the Western Germans might try to negotiate with the Soviets against our will. But I take it that these are not negotiations that you would encourage.

Once the Western Germans are rearmed, very little will be gained by the United States and her NATO partners being prepared "to accept the inevitability of negotiations and accommodation with Russia," for they will have nothing to accommodate Russia with. They can hardly disarm the Germans they have just rearmed.

The President and Dr. Adenauer are reported today to have agreed anew to "continued efforts" to bring about reunification — by peaceful means, of course. But four-power talks have been ruled out until the new agreements on Germany have been ratified and German forces are in being. Therefore, reunification by peaceful means would seem to be precluded, for does anyone seriously suppose that the Russians will accommodate *us* by agreeing to a reunited, rearmed Germany within our defense system?

What then are the "continued efforts" to be? Perhaps, a campaign of psychological warfare in the Western press and impassioned appeals before the "bar of world opinion" in the United Nations, followed by repeated demands for negotiations as repeatedly refused by the Soviets, leading to patience worn thin in a great crusade for liberation and justice for oppressed peoples, and finally to . . . ? We are indeed launched on the most perilous course in our history.

J. F. GOLAY

Buckroe Beach, Virginia

► A Lyric Is a Sometime Thing

SIRS:

As a general rule I can comprehend what you say and agree with your position, but by your recent article on popular music (*NR*, October 11), I'm completely befuddled. Is the whole article cynical, saying that no popular music is good music? There is some hint that some music is good and some is bad. But on what grounds? Are the lyrics of "I Love Paris" more poetic than those of "Sh-Boom"? Or is the music of "Stranger in Paradise" which compromises with *Scheherazade* of higher quality or greater entertaining usefulness than "Doggie in the Window." Mr. Levy assumes that it's perfectly obvious that "Bewitched" is an asset to the realm of music and that something else is a liability. I'd be very happy to know how he knows.

PAUL K. CHAPMAN

Newton Centre, Mass.

. . . Mr. Levy Replies

SIRS:

I think Mr. Chapman is really just "playing it" dumb. I don't think he's "befuddled" and I do think he knows the answers to the questions he poses. What seems to bother him is my use of the words "good" and "bad." If my article had been "Principles of Esthetic Judgment in the Field of Popular Lyrics," I would have been more concerned with the semantics of my language. As it was, however, I was concerned not with *what* is a good lyric, but *why* don't we hear more of them. In the interests of simple communication I used the words "good" and "bad" to distinguish between songs such as *Bewitched* and *Sh-boom*. If it's just my choice of words that bothered Mr. Chapman, I'm sorry. If it's that he himself can't distinguish between such songs, I'm sorry . . . for him.

HAL LEVY

Sherman Oaks, Calif.

BANDWAGON

REPRESENTATIVE Charles Brownston, Republican of Indiana, told waiters today he had intended no reflection "by comparing them with the Democratic Cabinet under Truman."—*New York Times*, October 16, 1954.

The Indiana State Athletic Commission has banned all Communists from boxing or wrestling in Hoosier rings. Executive Secretary Arch Hindman said professional boxers and wrestlers are going to be required to take a non-Communist oath if they want to appear in Indiana.

Hindman said the recent influx of foreign boxers and wrestlers has made the commission more aware of the possibility of "Reds appearing before Hoosier boxing and wrestling fans."—*El Paso (Texas) Times*, October 24, 1954.

MAGAZINE

A GRAMMAR OF VIOLENCE—lead article on the Semantics of the literature of violence in the current issue of ETC., official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

Nasal Congestion Associated With Head Colds May Cause Symptoms Of

SINUS

Thousands have received amazing, fast relief with this sensation, new treatment, from symptoms of hay fever, asthma, sinus headaches, pressure in forehead, soreness in eyes, cheek bones, top of head, back of head and down neck, when caused by nasal congestion. Write for 7 DAY FREE TRIAL, POSTPAID, no cost or obligation to try it except; it is agreed you will mail it back, postpaid at end of trial period if not amazed with results.

National Laboratories, Dept. S37A, Galt, Calif. Offer not good in California.

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An Invitation

THE FORTIETH YEAR of publication of the *New Republic* will be celebrated at a dinner on Wednesday, November seventeenth at 7:30 o'clock, at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C.

The Honorable Francis Biddle, former Attorney-General of the United States, will serve as toastmaster.
Henry R. Luce will speak on "The Liberal Tradition."

The editors of this *Journal of Opinion* cordially invite the many friends of the magazine who live or may be in the Washington area to join them on this occasion. Reservations can be made at $7.50 a plate by telephoning or writing: Dinner Committee, *New Republic*, 1826 Jefferson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Telephone: REpublic 7-8656.

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